

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 005887
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY NEA/IAI:WBSMITHII:LHW
APPROVED BY NEA:ALATHERTON
NEA:ALATHERTON
S/S :PTARNOFF

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 005887

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E.O. 11652' GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PBOR, IS, EG, UN, US

SUBJECT: ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN TERRITORIES; OPENING
OF JERUSALEM TALKS.

1. SUMMARY. DINITZ GAVE THE SECRETARY MESSAGE FROM BEGIN
TO THE PRESIDENT ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS (SEPTTEL). WHEN
DINITZ RAISED QUESTION OF UN ATTENDANCE AT OPENING OF
JERUSALEM TALKS, THE SECRETARY SAID HE HAD JUST SENT WORD
URGING THAT WALDHEIM CHANGE HIS MIND. DINITZ ADVISED IS-
RAELIS HAD INVITED SIILASVUO, WHO SAID MATTER WAS UNDER
CONSIDERATION. DINITZ CONFIRMED THAT BEGIN AND DAYAN
WOULD BE PREPARED TO MEET WITH THE SECRETARY EVENING OF
JANUARY 15. THE SECRETARY URGED THAT THERE BE NO OPENING
SPEECHES AT COMMENCEMENT OF JERUSALEM TALKS. U.S. WAS
GOING TO SUGGEST THREE POINTS FOR AGENDA: DECLARATION OF
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PRINCIPLES, GUIDELINES FOR WEST BANK/GAZA SOLUTION, AND
SAMPLE PEACE TREATY. WE FELT DISPUTE OVER CONTENT OF DIS-
CUSSIONS SHOULD BE AVOIDED IN SETTING AGENDA. DINITZ ASKED
IF SADAT WOULD SEEK REFERENCE TO WEST BANK/GAZA SELF-DETER-
MINATION IN DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. THE SECRETARY GAVE
OPINION SADAT WOULD NEED SOMEWHERE, ALTHOUGH NOT NECESSARILY
IN DECLARATION ITSELF, REFERENCE EITHER TO SELF-DETERMINA-

TION OR TO PARTICIPATION BY PALESTINIANS IN DETERMINING THEIR OWN FUTURE. SADAT WAS NOT LOOKING FOR PROVISION FOR

ESTABLISHMENT OF INDEPENDENT STATE AND FAVORED EVENTUAL FEDERATION OR CONFEDERATION WITH JORDAN. WHEN DINITZ ASKED IF FORMULATION COULD INCLUDE FEDERATION WITH ISRAEL AS POSSIBILITY, THE SECRETARY REPLIED SADAT WOULD NEED TO LEAVE FORMULATION LOOSER THAN THAT, BUT PERHAPS WITH CONTINUATION OF STATUS QUO WORKED OUT FOR INTERIM PERIOD AS ALTERNATIVE TO LINKAGE WITH JORDAN. ON SECRETARY'S INSTRUCTIONS, ATHERTON SUBSEQUENTLY CALLED BAR-ON TO SAY THAT SECRETARY HAD REVIEWED HIS NOTES ON ASWAN TALK AND FOUND SADAT HAD IN FACT SAID THAT ANY DECLARATION MUST INCLUDE WORD "SELF-DETERMINATION"; AT SAME TIME, SADAT HAD REAFFIRMED THAT THERE SHOULD BE LINK WITH JORDAN. END SUMMARY.

2. AMBASSADOR DINITZ ACCOMPANIED BY DCM BAR-ON CALLED ON THE SECRETARY WITH ATHERTON PRESENT JANUARY 9 TO TRANSMIT LETTER FROM PM BEGIN TO THE PRESIDENT ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES (TEXT BEING SENT SEPTEL). DINITZ SAID LETTER CONCERNED ASSURANCES GIVEN TO THE PRESIDENT BY DAYAN IN SEPTEMBER. THE SECRETARY SAID HE HAD UNDERSTOOD THERE WOULD BE ONLY SIX SETTLEMENTS, ALL IN EXISTING MILITARY INSTALLATIONS, OVER NEXT TWELVE MONTHS. DINITZ REPLIED SIX SETTLEMENTS WERE SECRET

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TO BE ESTABLISHED BY END OF YEAR PLUS FOUR MORE NOW, ALL WITHIN MILITARY CAMPS. WHEN DAYAN TALKED WITH THE PRESIDENT, HE REFERRED TO NEAR FUTURE AND AT ONE POINT SAID, "UNTIL END OF YEAR."

3. THE SECRETARY SAID HE WOULD GET OUT U.S. NOTES ON CONVERSATION. ATHERTON BELIEVED DAYAN HAD INDICATED SIX SETTLEMENTS WERE TO BE ALL FOR A YEAR. DINITZ SUGGESTED DAYAN MIGHT HAVE SAID THEY WERE TO BE ALL FOR "THE YEAR" AND MAY HAVE BEEN HEARD INCORRECTLY.

4. DINITZ NOTED EGYPT HAD REQUESTED UN SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM TO ATTEND OPENING OF TALKS IN JERUSALEM. THE SECRETARY SAID HE HAD JUST TALKED WITH UNDER SECRETARY GENERAL BUFFUM, ASKING THAT HIS VIEW BE RELAYED IT WOULD BE A GREAT MISTAKE IF NO ONE ATTENDED FROM U.N. AND HIS HOPE THAT WALDHEIM WOULD CHANGE HIS MIND. DINITZ CONFIRMED THAT ISRAEL WANTED U.N. PRESENCE. THE SECRETARY NOTED WALDHEIM CURRENTLY WAS TRAVELING AND SAID HE WOULD TRY TO TRACK HIM DOWN IF NECESSARY. DINITZ ADVISED ISRAELI MFA DIRECTOR GENERAL EVRON EARLIER JANUARY 9 INVITED GENERAL SIILASVUO

TO ATTEND. ISRAEL DID NOT CONSIDER IT NEEDED OR DESIRABLE FOR WALDHEIM PERSONALLY TO BE PRESENT. THE SECRETARY SAID HE ASSUMED SIILASVUO WOULD BE UNREPRESENTATIVE. DINITZ ADVISED SIILASVUO HAD REPLIED TO EVRON QUESTION OF HIS ATTENDING WAS UNDER CONSIDERATION.

5. DINITZ SAID AMBASSADOR LEWIS HAD ASKED EVRON WHETHER THE SECRETARY MIGHT MEET WITH BEGIN AND DAYAN EVENING OF JANUARY 15. THE SECRETARY OBSERVED HE THOUGHT SUCH MEETING WOULD BE USEFUL. DINITZ SAID ISRAELI SIDE AGREED AND MEETING WAS NOW CONFIRMED.

6. THE SECRETARY QUESTIONED WHETHER OPENING OF JERUSALEM TALKS NEEDED TO BE PUBLIC. HE URGED THAT OPENING
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SPEECHES BE DISPENSED WITH. HIS SUGGESTION WAS THAT PHOTOGRAPHS BE TAKEN AT START OF FIRST SESSION AND THEN FOR SESSION IMMEDIATELY TO GET DOWN TO WORK IN CLOSED SESSION. DINITZ THOUGHT DAYAN WOULD PREFER THIS APPROACH, AND HE WOULD STRONGLY RECOMMEND IT TO JERUSALEM. HOWEVER, IF EGYPT INSISTED ON OPENING SPEECH, ISRAELIS WOULD ALSO NEED TO MAKE ONE.

7. DINITZ ASKED IF THE SECRETARY WAS OPTIMISTIC. THE SECRETARY SAID HE WAS, EVEN THOUGH TALKS WOULD BE DIFFICULT. DINITZ ASKED WHAT SADAT WANTED CONCERNING WEST BANK. THE SECRETARY SAID HE FELT A SET OF PRINCIPLES WAS NEEDED. HUSSEIN NEEDED IT AS UMBRELLA IN ORDER TO JOIN TALKS. SECONDLY, THE SECRETARY THOUGHT THERE SHOULD BE EXAMINATION OF WEST BANK/GAZA IN MORE STRUCTURED WAY. DINITZ QUERIED WHETHER SADAT WANTED TO GO INTO DETAIL. THE SECRETARY REPLIED WE WOULD BE GETTING IN TOUCH WITH HIM TO RECOMMEND IT. THUS, AGENDA WOULD BE (A) DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, (B) GUIDELINES FOR WEST BANK/GAZA SOLUTION--BEGIN'S PROPOSAL PLUS POSSIBLE CHANGES, AND (C) SAMPLE PEACE TREATY, WHICH WAS IMPORTANT TO ISRAEL. DINITZ ASKED IF THIS WOULD BE EGYPT-ISRAEL TREATY. THE SECRETARY ANSWERED THAT WHATEVER TREATY MIGHT BE CONCLUDED BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT WOULD BE SAMPLE FOR ALL OTHER TREATIES EXCEPT IN REGARD TO WEST BANK/GAZA. THE SECRETARY ADDED HE CONSIDERED THESE THREE SUBJECTS BROAD ENOUGH AND HOPED ISRAEL AND EGYPT WOULD AGREE, SINCE DISPUTE OVER AGENDA BEFORE TALKS WAS NOT NEEDED.

8. DINITZ ASKED WHAT SADAT SOUGHT IN DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. THE SECRETARY FELT SADAT NEEDED SOMETHING ALONG LINES OF THIRD POINT THAT THE PRESIDENT LISTED
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IN HIS ASWAN STATEMENT. DINITZ SAID HE HAD HEARD SADAT WOULD INSIST ON SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENT STATE IN A FEW YEARS. THE SECRETARY THOUGHT SADAT COULD AGREE TO INTERIM ARRANGEMENT FOR PERIOD OF YEARS, TO BE FOLLOWED BY SOME FORM OF SELF-DETERMINATION. DINITZ ASKED IF THIS WOULD INCLUDE POSSIBILITY OF INDEPENDENT STATE, AND THE SECRETARY REPLIED NO. SADAT DID NOT WANT STATE BUT WANTED AREA FEDERATED OR CONFEDERATED WITH JORDAN.

THE SECRETARY CONFIRMED HE ENVISAGED AT END OF INTERIM PERIOD THE FEDERATION WITH JORDAN OR CONTINUATION OF STATUS QUO. DINITZ NOTED THE PRESIDENT HAD ALSO MENTIONED POSSIBILITY OF FEDERATION WITH ISRAEL. THE SECRETARY SAID SADAT WOULD PREFER TO LEAVE FORMULATION LOOSER THAN THAT.

9. DINITZ ASKED IF THIS MEANT SADAT WOULD NOT INSIST ON DEFINING AT THIS POINT PLEBISCITE TO TAKE PLACE AT END OF INTERIM PERIOD. THE SECRETARY REPLIED THIS WOULD NOT NEED TO BE IN DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. HOWEVER, SADAT WOULD NEED REFERENCE AT SOME POINT TO EITHER SELF-DETERMINATION OR OUR LANGUAGE WHICH ENVISAGED PARTICIPATION BY PALESTINIANS IN DETERMINING THEIR OWN FUTURE. DINITZ SAID HE HAD HEARD THE SECRETARY'S INTERPRETATION OF THIS IDEA IN TV INTERVIEW AS MEANING PALESTINIANS AND OTHER FACTORS SHOULD HAVE SAY IN MATTER, SUCH AS ISRAEL AND JORDAN. THE SECRETARY EXPLAINED HE WAS TRYING TO POINT OUT THIS WAS UNIQUE SITUATION; TWO COUNTRIES WERE ASSERTING RESIDUAL CLAIMS OF SOVEREIGNTY AND POPULATION ITSELF ALSO HAD RIGHT TO BE HEARD. DINITZ EXPRESSED VIEW THAT SELF-DETERMINATION WAS DANGEROUS TERM, AND PARTICIPATION WAS BETTER. WHEN IN RECENT CONVERSATION, EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR GHORBAL HAD ASKED DINITZ WHAT WAS WRONG WITH TERM SELF-DETERMINATION, DINITZ HAD REPLIED THAT POPULATION MIGHT

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CHOOSE ARRANGEMENT THAT ISRAEL AND ALSO EGYPT WOULD NOT LIKE. GHORBAL REPLIED THAT EGYPT WOULD SEE TO IT THAT THIS DID NOT HAPPEN. DINITZ SAID HE WAS PUZZLED BY ARAB NOTION OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND IN ANY CASE DOUBTED THAT ISRAEL COULD LIVE WITH THIS TERM.

10. ATHERTON SUBSEQUENTLY CALLED BAR-ON TO SAY THAT

SECRETARY HAD REVIEWED HIS NOTES OF ASWAN MEETING.
SADAT HAD IN FACT SAID THAT WORD "SELF-DETERMINATION"
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 005887

NODIS
FOR BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM SECSTATE WASHDC DATED JANUARY 10, 1978
SENT TEL AVIV INFO CAIRO IS REPEATED TO YOU: QUOTE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
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Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, LAND SETTLEMENT, PALESTINIANS, PEACE TALKS, NEGOTIATIONS, MILITARY OCCUPIED AREAS, CAT-B
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 10 jan 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
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Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
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Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3800422
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
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Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/39a8eae4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
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